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April 1886.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF CANADA

When the British North American provinces confederated in 1867 the only thing they seemed to have in common was an attachment to British institutions and British connection, and even that did not unite them very closely, for, wedged in between the British provinces by the sea and the British province on the Great Lakes, was the French Quebec. The central provinces, Ontario and Quebec, then known as Upper and Lower Canada, were connected by the Grand Trunk Railway which at that time had no competitor, but the maritime provinces were separated from the rest of the Dominion by an almost unexplored wilderness. To the north-west of Ontario lay the great lone land called the Hudson Bay Territory, known only to Indians and hunters, and generally supposed to be a land of eternal ice and snow. West of that again, and separated from it by the Rocky Mountains, was the province of British Columbia, with its head in the snow of the mountains and its feet in the warm waters of the Pacific.

The confederation scheme was the outcome of a parliamentary deadlock between the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, which, although geographically as dependent upon one another as Siamese twins, were separated by race hatred and differences of language and religion. It was carried by a narrow majority in most of the provinces. In Nova Scotia the majority of the people were opposed to it, and British Columbia was only induced to join by the promise of a railway through Canadian territory connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Before the American colonies confederated they had fought together and grown enthusiastic in a common cause. There was no war to weld the Canadian provinces together. Linked to Britain but separated from one another they had no community of interest, and nothing had been done to encourage trade between them. The people of Ontario hated the *habitants* of Quebec, and the "Bluenoses" down by the sea disliked all Canadians, whether they lived along the banks of the St. Lawrence and talked a French patois, or on the shores of Ontario and Erie speaking English like themselves.

Naturally, many citizens of the young Dominion had no faith in its future. They predicted all kinds of disasters and declared that the consolidation of Canada could never be anything more than a name. There were others, however, who argued that the natural resources of the Canadian provinces were fully equal to those of the Northern States, that

lying in a direct line between Europe and Asia nearer to both continents than the United States and possessing the finest harbors on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, with immense deposits of coal in close proximity to them, they must, in time, control the commerce of the world, and nothing but a century of disunion prevented them from making equal progress with the United States. They pointed out that ocean vessels from Europe passing up the St. Lawrence to Montreal could go nearer to the heart of the continent than by any United States route, while Louisburg, Canada's most eastern port, with one of the grandest harbors in the world and unlimited deposits of coal close at hand, was 750 nautical miles nearer to England than New York. They showed that a line of railway through Canadian territory connecting Montreal with the Pacific Ocean would be the shortest possible route across the continent of North America, and that Canada was especially favored by the Pacific Ocean, the Japan current carrying all vessels bound from Asia to America toward British Columbia. They declared that the internal water system of the Dominion was far superior to that of the United States, the most important connecting links between the Great Lakes being in Canada, and that by improving these water-ways Canadians could secure a large share of the American export trade. In short, they said that all that was necessary to the making of a mighty nation was a national policy which would develop interprovincial and international trade by constructing railways and canals.

So the people formed themselves into two parties, the Dominionists and Provincialists, the one having unbounded confidence in the future of the enlarged Canada, and holding that where the interests of one of the provinces conflicted in any matter with those of the country at large, the province must give way to the Dominion; the other taking a most gloomy view of the future of the confederation and insisting that the autonomy of the provinces should be restored in part, at least. Most of the Dominionists allied themselves with the Conservatives, while the Provincialists joined the Reformers, and thus, while the names Dominionist and Provincialist have never been used to designate the two parties, the distinguishing characteristic of the one is nationalism and that of the other provincialism. No review of Canadian history since the confederation that ignores this distinction can satisfactorily explain the present situation, and no forecast of the future is reliable unless it takes this into account.

The Dominionists have been in power at Ottawa ever since confederation, with the exception of the five years between 1873 and 1878, and while

all their hopes have not been realized much has been accomplished, and nothing but a one-sided study of events could make any unprejudiced person believe that the Dominion is undergoing a process of disintegration, as Dr. Bender seeks to prove in the February number of this Magazine. The political consolidation of the country is fast bringing about material consolidation, and the growth of national sentiment is commensurate to the progress that has been made. The maritime provinces have been connected with central Canada by the Intercolonial Railway; British Columbia has been brought into close communication with the sister provinces by the Canadian Pacific Railway which has also opened up the North-west to settlement; the great Welland Canal has been constructed; other waterways have been improved, and the older provinces have been covered with a net-work of railways. At the time of confederation Canada was almost without railways. Now there are over ten thousand miles in operation, and at least a thousand more will be open for traffic before next Dominion Day. Following are railways now in operation, with the mileage of each: Canadian Pacific with its branches, 3,678; Grand Trunk, 2,694; Intercolonial, 830; New Brunswick, 397; Northern and North-western, 382; Canada Southern, 376; Prince Edward Island, 196; Quebec Central, 148; South-eastern, 185; Windsor and Annapolis, 130; Canada Atlantic, 135; Manitoba and North-western, 130; Central Ontario, 104; Western Counties, N. B., 67; Quebec and Lake St. John, 46; St. Martins and Upham, N. B., 30; Kingston and Pembroke, 61; International of Quebec, 69; Eastern Extension, 80; Grand Southern, N. B., 82; Erie and Huron, 36; Cumberland, N. S., 32; Napanee, Tamworth and Quebec, 28; Albert, N. B., 45; Bay of Quinte Navigation, 15; Cobourg, Peterboro' and Marmora, 15; Chatham, N. B., 9; Carillon and Grenville, 13; Elgin, Petiscodiac and Havelock, 14. Of all these railways the Canadian Pacific is the most necessary to the consolidation of Canada, and its construction has been most strenuously opposed from the first by the Provincialists, who declared that it would be far better to let British Columbia go than to undertake such a stupendous work. When they found that the majority of the people favored the construction of the railway they proposed to compromise the matter by building the prairie section and making connection with the American railways at the Manitoba boundary line. They said that the section along the north shore of Lake Superior would never pay expenses, that the cost of constructing it would be enormous, and that it could not possibly be worked in winter. But the Dominionists argued that not only was an all Canadian route necessary to the integrity of the Dominion but the trade of the North-west would be lost to Eastern Canada

if the only means of communication was through the United States. Well, the railway was built from Montreal to the Pacific Ocean, and has been successfully operated throughout during the past winter. Passenger and freight trains have run between Montreal and the Rocky Mountains regularly and no difficulty has been experienced in operating the Lake Superior section.

The growth of interprovincial trade since confederation has kept pace with the construction of railways. The wholesale trade of the maritime provinces which once centered in Boston now largely centers in Montreal, and the interests of the different provinces are growing more identical every year. Many of the older men in the maritime provinces still cherish their dislike to the Dominion, but most of the young men now call themselves Canadians, and are growing proud of the name. There are still more anti-confederationists in Nova Scotia than in any other part of Canada, and some of the Reform papers even advocate secession, but the Conservative papers are all strongly Canadian in tone, and whatever grumbling there may be between times in that province, the Dominionists are always sustained when an election comes. In the North-west the Hudson Bay Territory has been divided into the Province of Manitoba and the Territories of Assiniboa, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Athabaska. Manitoba already has quite a large population, and its capital, Winnipeg, has about 30,000 inhabitants, while the territories are being rapidly settled and thriving towns are springing up all over the country. Winnipeg's population has not greatly increased during the last three years, but its character has greatly changed. In 1883 it was almost the only town of the North-west, being the head-quarters of the contractors, who were rapidly pushing forward the construction of the prairie section of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It was overrun with speculators and land-grabbers, land sold at enormous prices, and the value of everything was highly inflated. Now the boom is over, but an era of quiet prosperity and steady progress as the commercial metropolis of the Canadian North-west seems to have set in, although some people predict that the great city will be farther west. Immediately after the collapse of the boom there was some wild talk about seceding from the confederation. People spoke of Canada *and* the North-west as if they were separate countries, and the Provincialists in all the provinces began to think that the long expected collapse of the confederation was to be brought about by the people of the North-west. But with the completion of the railway came renewed prosperity, and there are to-day no more enthusiastic Canadians than the people of Manitoba and the North-west, although those in the Territories, of course, demand more rep-

resentation at Ottawa, just as Dakota is demanding admission as a State of the Union. They will all be admitted as regular provinces of the Dominion long before their population equals that of Dakota, and it is expected that at the next session of Parliament provision will be made for the representation of the Territories by members who will have the right to vote as well as speak, which will be in advance of the American system of territorial representation.

The strength of Canadian national sentiment was evidenced by the promptness with which the volunteers all over the country sprang to arms at the time of the Riel rebellion, and the enthusiasm that greeted their home-coming. They received ovations all along the line of railway, the townsmen crowding to the stations to cheer them, the ladies boarding the trains with coffee, baskets of provisions and button-hole bouquets. All Winnipeg was out-of-doors to welcome the boys; Montreal forgot that its population was divided and showed that even if the people spoke two languages they all cheered the same way; and Toronto went crazy with enthusiasm. There was never anything like it. A gentleman, who saw the victorious German troops enter Berlin after the Franco-Prussian war, informed me that the reception could not be compared with that given by Toronto to its returning volunteers. It is true that much ill feeling was afterward generated by the discussion of Riel's punishment, but the gravity of the situation is much exaggerated by Dr. Bender. In discussing the relations between the French and English-speaking citizens of Canada, Dr. Bender always refers to the latter as British. This is a mistake. The majority of English-speaking Canadians are not of English descent. According to the Dominion census, which classes the people according to their origin, the French rank first in numbers, Irish second, English third, Scotch fourth, and German fifth; but the English-speaking population are now almost as mixed as the Americans. In taking this census, descendants of United Empire Loyalists who emigrated from the American colonies after the Revolutionary war, were nearly all ranked as English, although they are generally of mixed race, and as like as can be to descendants of old American families in the United States. The accent of English-speaking Canadians is American, their appearance is more American than English, and since confederation, British sentiment has been, to a great extent, displaced by Canadian sentiment, especially in Ontario and the North-west. The most intelligible terms are Canadians and French-Canadians, for the French are the only section of the community that do not intermingle with the rest. The French-speaking population of Canada has greatly increased since confederation, but it

cannot be said to have grown more Frenchified. In Montreal nearly all the French-Canadians can speak English, while comparatively few Canadians can speak French. English is taught in all the French schools, and while French is likely to be the language of the home in Quebec province for generations, English is certain to be the language of commerce. If the chief cities of the province derived their importance from local trade, the French language would undoubtedly prevail in the end, but the manufacturers and importers depend more upon the maritime provinces, Ontario and the North-west for trade, than on their own province. The geographical position of Quebec province is such that it cannot become commercially isolated from the rest of the continent, and the people trading continually with English-speaking people must gradually become Anglicized. It may be said that so little has been accomplished in that direction in the past that nothing can be expected from the future, but it must be remembered that the era of railroad construction in Canada has just begun, and that the whole railroad system of the country will always be to a great extent tributary to the Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific Railways, which have their termini in this province. As the North-west becomes populated with millions of English-speaking people and Ontario's population increases, the volume of trade pouring down the St. Lawrence will be enormous, and having such close commercial relations with the rest of the Dominion, the people of Quebec must in time become assimilated. Socially the Canadians and French-Canadians do not intermingle as they should, but the lines are not as rigidly drawn as they were at one time. In business no distinctions are made, as a rule, and those Americans who imagine that a war of races is liable to break out at any time in Canada, would be surprised at the amicable relations that really exist between the French and English-speaking citizens of Montreal. Undoubtedly it would be far better for Canada if the French-Canadians would intermarry with the rest of the population and adopt the English language, but there are no indications that the isolation of the French is likely to bring about the disintegration of Canada. Some of the minor French politicians and newspapers may declare that the French-Canadians are more French than ever, but there is no doubt that English ideas have made considerable headway. Moreover, they are not now confined to one province, although the majority are in Quebec, and the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy is always on the side of the Dominion government. This generation certainly will not see a fusion of the two races, but there is no reason to expect that the people will not live amicably side by side in the future as they are doing at present and have done in the past, mu-

tually dependent upon each other. There has been no approach to a deadlock in Parliament since confederation, and while charges of French aggression have been made in some quarters, no case has ever been instanced in which the interests of one race were sacrificed to satisfy the other by Dominion legislation. It is true, the French-Canadians have opposed the incorporation of Orangemen, being supported in this by Mr. Blake, the leader of the Reform party, and many of his followers, but that was a question of religion rather than race, and Irish members also voted against it. The only question that ever threatened trouble was the hanging of Riel, and the excitement over that has almost entirely subsided, without any evil effects. Indeed, the effects of the agitation are likely to be beneficial. The French have been taught that they are only a part of the Canadian people, and that the laws of the Dominion will not be set aside at the dictation of mob orators; moreover, they are likely to take more interest in the management of North-west affairs in the future, and this will be the means of lifting them out of their narrow, provincial rut. There is nothing alarming in an occasional wordy conflict between the two sections of the people. It shows that they are rubbing together instead of drifting apart, and while neither may admit that the other is right, the arguments advanced are not without effect.

The Riel agitation took much larger dimensions on paper than it ever had in fact. The members of the French-Canadian wing of the Conservative party are known as Bleus and the French Reformers as Rouges. While the rebellion was in progress a few Rouge politicians, hoping to make party capital, held meetings in Montreal justifying the action of the half-breeds, comparing them to the patriots of 1837, and denouncing the government. Their meetings were poorly attended at first, and were laughed at by newspapers of the Bleu persuasion; but after the rebellion was suppressed and the lower classes of French-Canadians became excited against the English-speaking people by the enforcement of compulsory vaccination laws, to which they were opposed, the attendance at the meetings greatly increased, and a number of Bleu politicians, growing alarmed lest their constituents might be carried away by the eloquence of the Rouges, joined them in demanding the commutation of Riel's sentence, threatening to establish a new party and assist the Reformers in ousting the Conservatives from power unless their demands were granted. It was a crisis in the history of Canada. Had the government yielded to a demand made in such a way, there would have been just grounds for Dr. Bender's gloomy predictions. But the course of justice was not interfered with; Riel was justly punished, and the agitation has already subsided,

largely owing to the vigorous action of the Roman Catholic clergy in upholding the action of the Dominion government and denouncing rebellion and sedition. Of the twenty French Conservative members of Parliament who joined the Rouges in forming the so-called National party, all but seven are said to have returned to the support of the administration, and even should the twenty join the Reformers in a vote of want of confidence, the government would still have a large majority. Much has been said about the demonstrations in Montreal against the government, but the great body of French-Canadians took no part in them. The effigy-burning was mostly done by medical students of Victoria University, who gladly seized the opportunity for a lark. They good-humoredly sang songs as they marched through the streets, and the only occasion when trouble was feared was the night that the medical students of McGill University turned out in a body, and being joined by a number of other young men, some of whom were members of the volunteer regiments in civilian dress, paraded the west end of the city, threatening to attack the Victoria students if they entered the English section. Mr. Beaugrand, the energetic Mayor of Montreal, addressed both bodies of students, exacting from each a promise not to cross Bleury Street, the dividing line between the English and French sections, and so a fight was avoided. On the following Sunday afternoon ten or fifteen thousand people crowded to Champ de Mars square and listened quietly to the speeches of the French-Canadian orators. They had nothing to do after church in the morning, the day being generally regarded as a holiday by the French, and it was a pleasant way to pass the afternoon, for these French-Canadian politicians are all fine speakers. But the agitation was carried on most hotly in the newspapers. The circulation of the French papers depends upon the encouragement of French sentiment, and they kept the excitement up as long as possible. That the French-Canadians in general were not very greatly interested in the matter is shown by the fact, that notwithstanding all the efforts to raise a Riel fund, before and since the execution of the rebel leader, only about \$250 was collected, which was recently sent to Madame Riel.

There never was anything more absurd than this Riel agitation in Quebec province, and many French-Canadians are now ashamed of their part in it. In the first place Riel had very little French blood in his veins. He himself claimed that his Scandinavian ancestors, the Rielsons, emigrated to Ireland and intermarried with the Irish, that afterward, emigrating to Canada and dropping the termination "son," they intermarried with the French and Indians. The French-Canadians are Roman Catho-

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lics, but Riel's avowed object was to establish a new Church. He denounced the Roman Catholic priesthood and the Pope, and treated the priests in his power with great indignity. Moreover, two French-Canadian priests were massacred by the Indians whom he incited. The French-Canadians were well represented in the Dominion Parliament and the Dominion Cabinet, and had they interested themselves in the alleged grievances of the half-breeds before the rebellion they could easily have secured the granting of the petitions. Riel must have known this, for he was an educated man and well acquainted with many of the Quebec politicians. But he never appealed to them, the half-breeds never appealed to them, and they did not take the slightest interest in the matter in or out of Parliament until the first shot was fired by the rebels at Duck Lake. There was nothing heroic in his conduct of the rebellion to excite the sympathies of the French-Canadians, and it was proven at the trial that he offered to leave the country if the government would pay him \$35,000, intimating that he was the half-breed question and that no further trouble would occur if he was satisfied. It is true that when he found death inevitable he renounced his heresies and died bravely, but that did not entitle him to be ranked as a hero. A few days afterward there died on the scaffold at London, Ont., a man who had brutally murdered his paramour because she refused to give him ten cents to buy liquor; he, too, died bravely and calmly, making an earnest profession of religion. And what were the grievances of the half-breeds? By the laws of Canada a half-breed in the North-west Territories could class himself either as an Indian or a white man, having all the privileges of either. As an Indian he would be subject to Indian treaties, would have his share in the Indian reserves, and receive Indian rations from the government. As a white man he would have exactly the same privileges as any other Canadian. He could locate a free claim of 160 acres and obtain a title to it after performing settlement duties for three years, and he could preempt 160 acres more, paying for it at the rate of two dollars and a half per acre on time. But this did not satisfy the half-breeds; they wished to have the privileges of both white men and Indians; they demanded that their farms be surveyed in long narrow strips instead of according to the system of both the American and Canadian governments; they insisted that they should be given scrip for 240 acres of land which they could sell at once to speculators, instead of obtaining titles to their land in the regular way by performing settlement duties; and asked to be exempted from the restrictions regarding the cutting of timber, to which white settlers were subject. After some delay the government agreed to

survey the land according to their peculiar method, but refused to grant them greater privileges than the whites in other respects. They continued to agitate and, finally, wearied by their importunity, the government, very injudiciously it seems to me, decided to grant scrip to all half-breeds in the North-west Territories who had not already received it in Manitoba, and on the 4th of February, 1885, notification of the appointment of a commission to settle the claims was forwarded to the half-breeds. There was some delay in sending the commission, and the rebellion broke out in the following March, the first shot being fired at Duck Lake on the 26th of the month. An explanation of the origin of the demand for scrip is necessary to an understanding of the matter. Prior to its annexation to Canada the North-west was a British Territory under the jurisdiction of the Hudson Bay Company, which held its charter from the British Government. Many people suppose that this company sold the lands of the North-west to Canada. This is a mistake. The company never had any title to the lands of the North-west, and the charter by which it secured jurisdiction over the country had expired when the territory was transferred to Canada by the British Government. The company had no legal claim for compensation, but its influence in the North-west was great, and to avoid trouble the Dominion Government agreed to give it £300,000 and a large grant of land. The Indians were recognized to be the real land-owners of the country, and the government negotiated directly with the Indian tribes for the transfer of their title, excepting in the old Red River settlement where the white employees of the Hudson Bay Company had generally intermarried with the Indians, forming a half-breed population. After the suppression of the first Riel rebellion this old district was formed into the Province of Manitoba, and the Indian claim was extinguished by granting to each half-breed scrip for 240 acres of land, those who had settled on farms being also granted titles to them as regular settlers. Many of the half-breeds at once sold their scrip to speculators, and some of them moved north to Prince Albert, in Saskatchewan Territory, where, encouraged by white speculators, they again demanded scrip. The delay in settling the matter, after it was decided to grant scrip to all half-breeds, was partly due to the difficulty expected in distinguishing between those who had already received scrip in Manitoba and those who were in the Territories at the time the Manitoba allotment was made. That is the history of the half-breed question and the second Riel rebellion. It is difficult to understand what excited the sympathies of the French-Canadians in Riel's favor, and yet there is no doubt that the feelings of many were so wrought upon by Rouge orators that for a time they

regarded him as a hero and a martyr who had been sacrificed to Orange prejudice. Possibly an explanation may be found in the fact that Riel put the Orangeman Scott to death during the first rebellion, and they believed that the Orangemen were demanding his execution on that account, although there is no evidence that the Orangemen interfered in the matter in any way. The Riel agitation was merely an ebullition of feeling which was soon worked off by a little speech-making, a number of hot editorials, and the burning of a few effigies. Everything is moving smoothly now.

There is no reason to suppose that absorption of the French-Canadians would follow annexation. Politically, Canada is more of a consolidation than a federation, the prerogatives of the Provincial legislatures being much more limited than those of the State legislatures, so that the powers of the French majority in Quebec province would be greatly increased by annexation, although their influence in the Federal Congress might not be so great as at Ottawa. In those New England towns where French-Canadians are numerically strong they maintain the same policy of isolation as in Canada. Where they are numerically weak they become Anglicized as readily in one country as in the other. French-Canadians are absorbed as quickly in Toronto as in Detroit or Buffalo. English, Scotch, Germans and Irish intermix as freely in Canada as in the United States, and some of the most enthusiastic Dominionists are Irish-Canadians.

Canada is not a paradise, nor will it ever be. It has its peculiar troubles as other countries have, but nowhere else are prosperity and liberty without license more general, and in no country are the laws more wisely administered. The standard of the judiciary is very high, lynch law is never heard of, even in the new settlements, and divorces are almost unknown. American sketches of Canadian life are almost always taken from the most unprogressive towns of Quebec province, which are no more representative of Canada than the smaller towns of Louisiana or Alabama are typical of the United States. Quebec province, as a whole, is certainly behind the age, but it occupies only a small space on the map of Canada.

Doctor Bender is altogether wrong in saying that "however sore the feeling of any race minority, and however apprehensive as to possible aggression or injustice, in future, by the majority, the kindred and sympathizing majority of no other province can help it; each province, which means each majority, is entirely independent of all the rest in regard to local and municipal affairs." The fact is, that every act passed by the Provincial legislatures must be submitted to the Dominion ministry before it becomes law, and may be vetoed at any time within a year of its pas-

sage, so that if the minority in any province is treated with glaring injustice, sympathizers in the other provinces have a whole year in which to agitate for the disallowance of the objectionable act, and as the Dominion ministry is responsible to Parliament, which represents the people of all the provinces, it is very susceptible to public opinion. No provision of the Canadian Constitution has given rise to so much public discussion as this. It is intended not only for the protection of provincial minorities, but also to prevent sectional legislation injurious to the Dominion at large. Quite a number of provincial bills have been disallowed since confederation during both Conservative and Reform administrations, but of late years the Reformers, or Provincialists, have advocated the abolition of the veto power, declaring that it is an encroachment upon the rights of the provinces, although their old leaders, Mr. George Brown, the founder of the Toronto *Globe*, and Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, strongly favored it. It is hardly worth while to notice the clerical error in Doctor Bender's article which makes the population of Ontario over 200,000 instead of over 2,000,000; but the statement that the value of real estate in Ontario fell \$30,000,000 last year, cannot be allowed to pass without challenge. Neither the Dominion nor Provincial Government published any statistics bearing on the value of real estate in Ontario last year. The last government estimate showed a very great increase instead of a decrease. The municipal assessments throughout the Province of Ontario last year showed an increase. In Toronto, the capital of the province, over three million dollars' worth of buildings were erected last year. The growth of this city well illustrates the progress of the country. In 1861 the population was 44,821; at the next census it was 56,092; in 1881 it had increased to 86,415; and now it is about 123,000.

Sir Richard Cartwright's comparison between the cost of government in the United States and Canada, quoted by Dr. Bender, is very misleading. It is true the debt of the Dominion has increased while that of the United States has been reduced, but this debt has been incurred in the construction of the most stupendous public works ever undertaken by any country of equal population—works that are not only bringing about the material consolidation of the country, but which must be the means of doubling the population in a few years, and so greatly reduce the debt per head as well as the rate of taxation, for it will cost very little more to administer the affairs of the country when the population is twice as large, while the revenue will be greatly increased. The cost of maintaining post-offices, custom-houses and other government offices is necessarily much greater per head of population in a sparsely settled country than in

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one that is densely populated, and increase of population makes little difference in parliamentary expenses. But even at present Canada need not fear comparison with the United States as regards taxation. Sir Richard Cartwright and Dr. Bender overlook the fact that in Canada the cost of provincial government is defrayed by annual subsidies from the Dominion treasury, and that there is no direct taxation except for municipal purposes, the revenue being raised by customs and excise duties. Before making a comparison between the two countries, the whole cost of the various State administrations should be added to the Federal expenditure of the United States. The customs tariff of Canada is much lower than that of the United States, averaging about eighteen per cent., and the only articles upon which excise duties are imposed are liquor, tobacco and vinegar. The rate of taxation in the city of Toronto in 1883 was 15½ mills on the dollar; in 1884, 15½ mills; in 1885, 17 mills, the increase being due to a special tax for the establishment of a public library. If Toronto were situated in an American State instead of in a Canadian Province the State tax would be added to this direct tax, while the indirect taxes, in the shape of customs and excise duties, would also be increased.

The idea that Canadians generally are looking to Washington for relief is purely imaginary. There are among the Provincialists of Canada many who would like to see annexation brought about, but so sure are they that the majority of the people are strongly opposed to it that not a single politician or newspaper can be found to openly advocate the change. This aversion to annexation does not result from any dislike of Americans; it is the natural independence of a self-reliant, energetic people, who believe that there is room for two great liberal nations on the North American continent.



MONTRÉAL, CANADA, March 5.